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TAGS: PFOR PINT TU

SUBJ: ANTI-AMERICANISM AND THE TURKISH PRESS

REF: A. ATHENS 1027, B. 75 ANKARA 6001

1. ANTI-AMERICANISM IN A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF THE TURKISH PRESS IS CHRONIC. AT INTERVALS OVER THE PAST 18 MONTHS--ESPECIALLY WHEN FRESH DEVELOPMENTS HAVE OCCURRED IN THE ARMS EMBARGO OR POPPY ISSUES--IT HAS BECOME ACUTE AND HAS SPREAD TO THE ONE OR TWO NEWSPAPERS WHICH ARE NORMALLY BALANCED IN THEIR COVERAGE OF U.S. EVENTS. OF TURKEY'S HALF DOZEN NEWSPAPERS OF CONSEQUENCE (FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF CIRCULATION VOLUME OR INFLUENTIAL READERSHIP)

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ONLY ONE CAN BE DESCRIBED AS "RESPONSIBLE" AS WE USE THE TERM.

THIS IS MILLIYET (CIRCULATION: 263,000). ANOTHER MAJOR DAILY, TERCUMAN, (CIRC: 323,000) IS OCCASIONALLY SUPPORTIVE OF THE U.S. BUT ALSO REGULARLY REFLECTS THE VIEWS OF TURKEY'S CONSERVATIVES.

2. THE MAIN THEMES OF ANTI-AMERICANISM IN TURKEY'S PRESS ARE DURABLE AND REPETITIVE, BUT THEY ARE SUSCEPTIBLE TO COMPLEX VARIATIONS. SOME OF THE MOST PROMINENT OF THESE CENTRAL THEMES:

--U.S.-TURKISH DEFENSE COOPERATION IS HEAVILY ONE-SIDED. THE U.S. GAINS FAR MORE THAN IT GIVES. IN EXCHANGE FOR IRREPLACABLE BASES THE U.S. IN THE PAST HAS BEEN STINGY WITH ITS ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID AND HAS NOW GONE SO FAR AS TO CUT OFF AID ENTIRELY. THIS THEME IS PROMINENT THROUGHOUT THE TURKISH PRESS AND PRESUMABLY HAS WIDE PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE. VARIATIONS AND ELABORATIONS OF THIS THEME FREQUENTLY APPEAR IN SUCH LEFT-WING DAILIES AS CUMHURIYET (CIRCULATION 110,000) AND THE SENSATIONALIST GUNAYDIN (CIRC. 340,000). FOR EXAMPLE, A RECURRING THEME OF CUMHURIYET'S FOREIGN AFFAIRS COLUMNIST ALI SIRMEN IS THAT THE U.S. CONNECTION NOT ONLY EXPLOITS AND ENDANGERS TURKEY, BUT THAT NATO IS MERELY A COVER FOR U.S. INTERESTS AND THAT TURKEY'S TRUE INTERESTS LIE IN NON-ALIGNMENT AND PURSUIT OF "THIRD WORLD" POLICIES. FAR RIGHT PAPERS SUCH AS MILLI GAZETE, BY CONTRAST, URGE A REALIGNMENT WITH THE ARABS.

--THE U.S. MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT IN TURKEY HAS BEEN GRANTED CONCESSIONS REMINISCENT OF THE CAPITULATIONS OF OTTOMAN DAYS. CONCESSIONS INCLUDE EXEMPTION "EVEN OF AMERICAN ENLISTED MEN" FROM THE HEAVY BURDEN OF IMPORT TAXATION TO WHICH TURKISH THEMSELVES ARE SUBJECTED. OTHER "UNJUST" CONCESSIONS HAVE LED TO SUCH INCIDENTS AS AMERICAN GUARDS HAVING KEPT TURKISH OFFICERS AND PARLIAMENTARIANS OUT OF U.S. CONTROLLED MILITARY INSTALLATIONS, I.E., PREVENTING TURKISH OFFICIALS FROM SETTING FOOT ON TURKISH SOIL. BEYOND THIS, TURKS IN TURKEY ARE EXCLUDED FROM A WHOLE RANGE OF SERVICES ENJOYED BY AMERICANS, FROM OFFICERS' CLUBS AND PX'S TO MILITARY BUS SERVICE FOR AMERICAN SCHOOL CHILDREN. AGAIN, THIS THEME HAS BEEN WIDELY REPEATED IN THE TURKISH PRESS FOR OVER A DECADE. INDICATIONS OF THE SENSITIVITY THIS HAS ENGENDERED IN THE TURKISH PUBLIC CAN BE CLEARLY SEEN IN SOME OF THE MEASURES TAKEN BY THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT LAST AUGUST (REF B) FOLLOWING REFUSAL BY CONGRESS TO LIFT THE EMBARGO.

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SHORTLY AFTER THESE MEASURES WERE ANNOUNCED, MUMTAZ SOYSAL, WRITING IN THE LIBERAL DAILY MILLIYET ASSERTED THAT THE DEMIREL MEASURES WERE WITHOUT SUBSTANCE FOR, HE SAID, THE SCHOOL BUS CONTINUED TO RUN AND AMERICAN SERVICEMEN CONTINUED TO BUY THEIR GROCERIES AT A U.S. COMMISSARY.

--THE U.S. USES SUBTLE, COVERT MEANS--AS WELL AS OVERT PRESSURE--TO CORRUPT TURKISH POLITICAL LIFE AND TO RETAIN ITS PRIVILEGES

AND INFLUENCE. THIS IS A FAVORITE THEME OF SUCH FAR LEFT PAPERS AN YENI ORTAM BUT OCCASSIONALLY IT APPEARS IN SUCH MODERATE LEFT PAPERS AS PRO-REPUBLICAN PEOPLES PARTY BARIS. LAST MARCH, FOR EXAMPLE, BARIS SERIALIZED IN MORE THAN 20 INSTALLMENTS A SO-CALLED "SECRET AMERICAN DOCUMENT" OUTLINING, AS ITS HEADLINE SAID "HOW THE U.S. CONTROLS THE WORLD." ACCORDING TO BARIS, "WE ARE PUBLISHING A SECRET DOCUMENT EXPLAINING THE DIRTY METHODS THE CIA, FBI AND THE PENTAGON USE IN TURKEY AND THE WORLD." THE DOCUMENT IN QUESTION WAS AN OUTDATED ARMY FIELD MANUAL ON INTELLIGENCE GATHERING IN PRE-INSURGENCY AND INSURGENCY SITUATIONS. RECENT DISCLOSURES CONCERNING U.S. INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES OFTEN REPRINTED FROM THE U.S. PRESS HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE PLAY THIS THEME HAS RECEIVED OVER THE PAST YEAR. ON FEB. 6, SEVERAL DAILIES INCLUDING MILLIYET AND YENI ORTAM FRONT-PAGED A REPORT THAT AN RPP MEMBER OF THE TURKISH PARLIAMENT HAD DEMANDED THAT THE GOVERNMENT DISCLOSE THE NAMES OF CIA AGENTS WORKING TURKEY.

--A FINAL WIDELY PLAYED THEME IS THAT THE U.S. IS FUNDAMENTALLY POR-GREEK. MOST OFTEN, THE REASONS GIVEN FOR THIS ALLEGED ORIENTATION IS THE EFFECTIVENESS OF GREEK PROPAGANDA AND MONEY IN THE U.S. OCCASSIONALLY, DAILIES SUCH AS HURRIYET (CIRC. 404,000, TURKEY'S LARGEST) RAISE THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION, ASSERT-INT THAT THE U.S. IS NATURALLY INCLINED TO SIDE WITH CHRISTIAN GREECE AGAINST MUSLIM TURKEY.

3. MORE VIVID EXAMPLES OF ANTI-US COVERAGE AND COMMENT OVER THE PAST YEAR INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

--HURRIYET USED BANNER HEADLINES TO ALLEGE THAT 500 U.S. DRUG ENFORCEMENT AGENTS--ALSO ALLEGED TO BE CIA AGENTS--WERE WORKING IN TURKEY OUTSIDE OF THE CONTROL OF TURKISH AUTHORITIES.

--A FRONT PAGE STORY IN CUMHURİYET LAST SUMMER ALLEGED THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE U.S. HAD IMPOSED A "COMMERCIAL EMBARGO" ON TURKEY. THE STORY ASSERTED THAT THE U.S. HAD IMPOSED THIS BY DENYING TURKEY GENERALIZED TRADE PREFERENCES. THE STORY WAS SUFFICIENTLY MISLEADING THAT A FEW DAYS AFTER IT APPEARED, RPP LEADER BULENT ECEVIT ACCUSED THE U.S. OF GRANTING TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES WHAT IT WITHHELD FROM TURKEY. (ROMANIA HAD JUST BEEN GRANTED MFN STATUS.)

--A COMMENTARY BY RAUF TAMER IN CONSERVATIVE TERCUMAN FOLLOWING THE REFUSAL OF CONGRESS TO LIFT THE ARMS EMBARGO SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR TURKS TO GO TO THE STREETS IN VIOLENT UPROAR TO DISPLAY THEIR ANGER AT THE U.S.

4. EXAMPLES SUCH AS THESE DRAWN FROM THE RECENT PAST COULD BE EXTENDED TO A MUCH LONGER LIST. ESPECIALLY AS THE EMBARGO ISSUE DEVELOPED BETWEEN OCTOBER, 1974 AND OCTOBER 1975, NEWSPAPERS

WEE REPLETE WITH STORIES OF GREEK INFLUENCE IN THE U.S. AND ALLEGATIONS OF THE VENALITY OR THE FOLLY OF THE U.S. CONGRESS. EVEN AFTER LIFTING THE EMBARGO ON OCTOBER 2, SOME PAPERS REPORTED THE EMBARGO WAS BEING CONTINUED BY THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION AS A MEANS OF PRESSURE ON CYPRUS. THUS, IN AN UTTERLY UNFOUNDED FRONT PAGE ITEM, GUNAYDIN IN MID-OCTOBER HEADLINED "U.S. DELAYS IN ARMS DELIVERIES CHARACTERIZED AS A NEW EMBARGO--ARMED FORCES COMMANDERS AT A LONG MEETING AT GENERAL STAFF HEAD-QUARTERS DISCUSS THE SITUATION".

5. IN RECENT WEEKS, ALTHOUGH STORIES EXPLOITING THE ANTI-AMERICAN THEMES NOTED ABOVE HAVE CONTINUED TO APPEAR, THE VOLUME HAS SLACKENED. THE RECENT ACTION BY THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE WHICH WOULD CONTINUE RESTRICTIONS ON GRANT AND CREDIT ARMS SUPPLIES TO TURKEY GENERATED RELATIVELY MODERATE COMMENT, ALTHOUGH IT RECEIVED WIDE COVERAGE. THIS MAY HAVE BEEN A RESULT OF MORE GENERAL UNDERSTANDING OF U.S. LEGISLATIVE PROCESSES THAN EXISTED PRIOR TO LAST YEAR. OR IT MAY IN FACT BE A MANIFESTATION OF A NEW FEELING IN TURKEY NOTED IN A COLUMN FEB. 5 BY EMEL ANIL, ANKARA CORRESPONDENT FOR THE ASSOCIATED PRESS. ANIL'S STORY, ON ANTI-AMERICANISM IN TURKEY, DECLARED:

"IN THE PAST YEAR, A NOISY ANTI-AMERICAN MINORITY IN TURKEY HAS GIVEN WAY TO A SILENT MAJORITY WHOSE RESENTMENT OF THE UNITED STATES IS DEEPLY FELT BUT SELDOM EXPRESSED IN A DRAMATIC FASHION. "IT IS AS IF THE MAJORITY OF TURKS HAVE GIVEN UP ON THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AMERICANS AND CONSIDER IT FUTILE TO PROTEST AGAINST THEM,' SAID ONE INTELLECTUAL TURK."

6. IT MIGHT APPEAR THAT THE SEEDS OF ANTI-AMERICAN SENTIMENT SOWN FOR MORE THAN A DECADE BY A LARGELY IRRESPONSIBLE PRESS HAVE TAKEN FIRM ROOT. BUT, IF THE ANTI THESIS IS VALID, IT APPARENTLY TOOK U.S. ACTIONS--NOT ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ALONE--TO STIR REALLY WIDESPREAD RESENTMENT OF THE U.S. AMONG TURKS. BERGUS

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